1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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534 [202] though it is used for sad effects. Informants agree that the traditional tunes of the *llollkin* convey specific messages to native auditors.

Percussive instruments include gourd rattles, small strings of metal sleigh bells, and *kul·truñs*. The last are drums that are widely used in rituals by the shamans known as *machis*. A *kul·truñ* is made of horse or dog skin, tightly stretched over a wooden bowl-shaped frame that is neither very deep nor very wide (Pl. VIII). Generally, it contains a few pebbles or dried beans, so that at times it can serve as a kind of rattle. Before being used the *kul·truñ* is usually warmed at a fire. When played by a *machi* a *kul·truñ* is held in one hand and beaten by a single drumstick in the other. On some occasions, however, a layman may act as drummer, using a pair of slender sticks.

The skin surface of a typical *kul·truñ* is decorated by curved marks that stand for the roots of trees and other vegetation, and by parallel lines crossing at right angles to form quadrants, each of which represents a quarter of the globe (Pl. VIII). The small square at the center is known as *rañiñmapu* ("middle of the earth"). To an Araucanian everyone who does not originate from *rañiñmapu* is a stranger. Telling someone to go to *rañiñmapu* is equivalent to trying to get rid of him by sending him on a futile journey to a mythical place.

● 533 Despite the variety of musical instruments known to the Mapuche,[25] their music does not seem to be highly developed as measured by Euro-American standards.

THE ROUND OF DAILY TASKS

462 512 A degree of sexual dichotomy still prevails in the conduct of daily tasks, but it is not rigidly observed in all cases. Women, as is universally the rule, are expected to do the housekeeping, including the making of beds, sweeping and tidying up the *ruka*, preparing and serving meals, and repairing and washing clothing. They have complete charge of the care and rearing of infants, and, as has already been noted, they spend much time

[25] *Pifullkas*, *trutrukas*, and *kul·truñs* are described in Joseph, 1931a, pp. 72–77. The *llollkin* does not seem to have been previously reported.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE[1]

122 This article is based on material that was gathered in the course of a field trip to Chile from mid-February to mid-August, 1948. The trip was made possible by the combination of a sabbatical leave from the University of Michigan and a generous grant from the Board of Governors of the Horace H. Rackham School of Graduate Studies, to whom grateful acknowledgment is made.

INTRODUCTION

533 Over the years since 1629, when the "happy captive," Francisco Núñez de Pineda y Bascuñan, first noted that his captors were much given to song, numerous examples of Mapuche singing have been reported and published.[2] Since the contents of the songs are usually packed with meaning, they are properly classed together with such other aspects of oral literature as proverbs, riddles, folk tales, genealogical accounts, and historical recitals. Skill in oratory and associated arts was once a fundamental prerequisite for chieftainship, and even today verbal ability is much esteemed.

[622, 537]

To achieve success in this regard is no simple matter, for the Mapuche employ a highly figurative style, full of nuances and subtle turns of expression. Then, too, as Guevara has pointed out, they like to use phrases that are markedly elliptical and laconic, with very few words serving to suggest complete thoughts.[3] Moreover, most of the references that are sprinkled throughout the oral literature derive so much of their significance from close familiarity with Mapuche culture, that outsiders are apt to find them meaningless or enigmatic.

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[1] For practical purposes the terms Mapuche and Araucanian are interchangeable. They may be applied either to the aboriginal language that was widespread in central Chile before the conquest, or to the natives who speak that tongue. At present the main body of Araucanian speakers resides between the Bio Bio River and Chiloe Island. In their own language Mapuche means "people of the land."

[2] Convenient bibliographic references to these works are given in Donald D. Brand, "A Brief History of Araucanian Studies," N. Mex. Anthropol., XXII (1941), 29 et passim.

[3] Tomás Guevara S., Folklore araucano (Santiago, 1911), pp. 9-10.

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SOCIAL SINGING AMONG THE MAPUCHE

533 The term for a song is ül, and the verb "to sing" is ülkantun. As a rule, the songs have neither fixed numbers of syllables nor regularly determined verse lengths. Instead, they get their effects from a combination of clever wording and rhythmic phrasing in conformity with the patterns of Araucanian speech. If a particular passage is well received, it may be repeated at the option of the singer.

Mapuche songs cover a wide range of topics, including prayers and supplications for supernatural aid, love and courtship, lonesomeness, sorrow, grief resulting from bereavement, enforced separation, poverty, or failure to have offspring. Some classes of songs are rendered by special personages such as chiefs or medicine women,[4] and others are sung in conjunction with the performance of particular activities.[5] Both of these types may be rendered in traditionally fixed forms and are generally accompanied by musical instruments.[6]

A great number of unaccompanied songs are improvised at public gatherings by men or women who take advantage of these occasions to "blow off steam," or to call general attention to some matter of personal concern to the singer. Songs of this kind are called "assembly songs," and their moods may vary from naïve and joyful to slanderous, bitter, or ironic.

Not many "assembly songs" have been published, and scarcely any have been analyzed in terms of their social and cultural meanings. It is the purpose of this paper to call attention to this interesting but little known aspect of Araucanian culture, by providing examples of representative texts, translations, and interpretations.

SOCIOCULTURAL BACKGROUND

621 592 During recent decades the Mapuche have been living in a large number of districts or reservations, known in Spanish as reducciónes. Each of these communities comprises a varying

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[4] Best known in this category are machi ül, sung by female shamans or machis, in conjunction with curing rites or public ceremonies.

[5] For example, songs designed to bring victory in hockey games are known as paliwe ül ("hockey game song") and are sung before a match begins.

[6] The most commonly used instruments are listed and described in John M. Cooper, "The Araucanians," Handbook of South American Indians, ed. Julian H. Steward (Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1946), 2, 738.

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may be, all such assemblies are welcome events that provide opportunities for friendly conversation, courtship, gossip, and the exchange of news. Regardless of special functions, too, these events always include in the schedule of activities, feasting, drinking, oratory, and singing.

It is on such occasions that some of the celebrants, generally under the stimulus of drink, may give vent to their inner feelings by improvising songs.[10] The effects of these improvisations are not necessarily slight or temporary. They may lead to the correction of abuses, or they may serve a totally different purpose, for auditors sometimes memorize the songs that strike their fancy and later repeat them from time to time at home. Children are thus given an opportunity to become acquainted with various compositions, which their elders encourage them to learn to sing. The Mapuche recognize that this is an educational technique, and informants point out that it enables youngsters to acquire skill in singing at the same time that it gives them an awareness of the subtleties of their native tongue and an insight into the customs and traditions of their tribe.

ASSEMBLY SONGS: TEXTS FREE TRANSLATIONS, AND INTERPRETATIONS

The material contained in this section was obtained in Santiago late in May, 1948, from Mr. J. M. Collío Huaiquilaf,[11] and was rechecked with him about two months later. He wrote

creencias araucanas," Rev. folklore chileno, Año III, Entrega 4 (1912), 171 and footnotes 1 and 2.

[10] Cf. Cuevara, op. cit., p. 9.

[11] Mr. J. Martín Collío Huaiquilaf is not entirely unknown to North American anthropologists. He was in the United States after the close of the first World War, and he occasionally served as an informant to Dr. Speck and Dr. Hallowell at the University of Pennsylvania. He also conferred with Dr. Brand in Santiago in March, 1941, and Brand has published a trilingual text furnished by Collío. See D. D. Brand, op. cit., pp. 24, 36-52. See also A. I. Hallowell, "Araucanian Parallels to the Omaha Kinship Pattern," Amer. Anthropol., XLV (1943), 489-91.

Mr. Collío formerly lived on the reducción called Carrarrihe, near Chalchol, but for some years past he has been a resident of Santiago. He speaks Araucanian and Spanish fluently and has some knowledge of English. I found him to be a helpful and reliable informant, and I am deeply grateful for all the assistance he gave me.

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but the texts in his own hand, using a system of transcription that consists essentially of the values given to the Spanish alphabet, with the sole addition of a Germanic ü. Because of the metaphorical quality of the language, it was impossible to translate the texts literally, but the free translations given here were gone over word by word with Mr. Collío. The interpretations are, in all instances, based on data furnished by him, but I have supplied some additional material.

Mr. Collío unhesitatingly affirmed that the custom of singing at assemblies is still practiced throughout the Araucanian region. As a tribal leader he travels widely in central Chile, and he claims to have attended a great number of public gatherings at some of which he heard renditions of the songs given below. In Collío's home reservation, however, where I spent approximately six weeks, informants were not familiar with the texts of these songs. Apparently none of them has more than a local distribution in the vicinity in which it was composed.

Woman's Song No. 1[12]

kanin peumán
petu ñi ilchalen.
ñi femguechi
niyer keael meu.

Free translation.—I dreamed of a vulture when I was a young virgin, little realizing that I was destined to submit to such a man.

Interpretation.—The singer complains that her husband is rapacious and inconsiderate. According to Collío, she is also implying that her spouse does not satisfy her sexual desires.

Man's Reply[13]

felelai papai
eimi palelai

[12] Women's songs are generally but not invariably shorter than are men's. The numbers attached to the successive texts are purely arbitrary and are used only for convenience in making references.

[13] There seems to be a tendency for singing to develop into a sort of contest, for many songs make accusations which are answered by the person concerned.

126 533 539 833 539 539 [578]

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582 daughters not to yield too readily to their importunate cousins.

CONCLUSION

533 The songs contained in the preceding section represent only a part of the repertoire of a single, well-versed informant. No doubt vast stores of similar material await systematic collection. Unquestionably, too, they will yield many insights into the workings of Mapuche culture and its effects on the temperaments of the people.

For women, especially, the device of assembly singing seems to afford an important emotional outlet. Traditionally, [562] Araucanian social organization has a strong masculine emphasis, and women have only minor and subordinate status.[29] This is particularly apparent in the marriage customs, for women have scarcely any voice in the selection of mates, they have nothing to say about where they are going to live, and they have little expectation of being sole mistresses of their own households. That these matters trouble them is clearly evident from the way in which wives take advantage of a socially approved safety valve that gives them an opportunity to "blow off steam" regarding their marital problems, without fear of criticism or reprisals.

539 It is the postmarital residence pattern that appears to put
592 the greatest strain on a newlywed woman. While a groom continues to live on his natal *[illegible]ucción*, sometimes in the very house in which he was born, a bride must go to live among strangers in a strange place. Not only must she work out an adjustment to her husband but also to such of his relatives as happen to live under the same roof. Some of the personality clashes that are likely to grow out of this situation are revealed in "Woman's Song" Nos. 5, 6, 7, and 9.

539 Another aspect of Mapuche social organization that finds
582 recurrent expression in the songs is the emphasis on cross-cousin marriage. So close is the bond between a man and his mother's brother's daughter (*koñi-ñuke*) that one may use the term *ñuke* for a wife or sweetheart who is not a daughter of one's maternal uncle.

[29] The fact that most of the religious leaders (*machis*) are women makes an important exception to the general rule.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

533 special songs were composed for important occasions. Improvisation of songs was common. The songs, with words, not wordless or predominantly wordless, filled with metaphorical and vivid language, dealt with subjects ranging from sex and war and religion to love of kin and friends, freedom, satire, death and bereavement, various frustrations, drinking, and other events of ordinary life. (For details on songs and singing, cf. Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 119–21; for samples of songs: Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 122–34; 1913, after p. 226, with musical notation; Félix José, 1910, many songs passim.) Besides the orators and song-composers, there were also what may be called the historians, who knew the ancient traditions, genealogies, and martial exploits of the past. The large number of proverbs current (Guevara Silva, 1911, pp. 15–95) and the distinctly aboriginal flavor of so many of them suggest native rather than Hispanic origin. The few riddles (Soustelle, 1938, pp. 76–77; cf. Félix José, 1916, 1:93, s. v. koneu) look more European

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534 **Music.**—Songs were usually sung in a low voice to the accompaniment of the drum or other instrument. The chief musical instruments were: A kettle drum (kul·trun), a wooden plate or a half gourd, with a single head of skin, beaten with a small stick; a flute (pifəllka) of wood, and formerly of human longbones; a wind instrument (trutruka), 10 to 13 feet (3 to 4 m.) long of *Chusquea* sp., hollowed out, with a cattle horn at the end; a shell or cattlehorn trumpet (kulkul). The shamans used particularly a hand drum of the type just mentioned and a gourd rattle (wada). Izikowitz (1935, p. 121) figures a basketry rattle. Other less frequently mentioned musical instruments were: A drum of a tree trunk, a flute of *Chusquea* sp., a small sort of panpipe or "mouth organ" (Housse, 1939, p. 190), and the musical bow (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:281–82; Félix José, 1916, 1:180; Izikowitz, 1935, p. 203)—the last, post-Columbian (Lehmann-Nitsche, 1908). The buil-roarer was absent.

535 **Dances.**—Men and women danced, but rarely together, and to the music of drum and flutes. The older dances were seemingly at a rather slow tempo, the dancers' feet being hardly lifted from the ground. The imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been more modern, of introduction from across the Andes. Bascuñan (1863, p. 135) described one dance characterized by rather marked erotic elements, elements common in modern *Mapuche* dances (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 41; 1913, p. 229). In some of the modern *Mapuche* dances and gatherings there is considerable clowning (Félix José, 1910, pp. 45–46), and use of masks (pl. 155, *bottom*) of wood and of canelo leaves (Guevara Silva, 1898, 1:285; 1908, p. 128; Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 234–36).

527 796 **Recreation.**—Perhaps the most important single recreational activity of the *Mapuche-Huilliche* was the kawiñ. This consisted primarily

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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854 A child that has outgrown its cradle is transported on the mother's back, resting in her shawl. Two-year-olds were seen being so transported. "A 2-year-old child is not able to walk far; but a 3-year-old is expected to walk holding its mother's hand. When it is tired, the mother will transport it astride on her hip." Long distances the mother covers on horseback with a 2- or 3-year-old child straddling the saddle in front of her. When a child can be trusted to hold on safely, it will sit back of the saddle clutching the saddle.

[352] Only one Araucanian in all areas, a 52-year-old Coñaripe man, had seen a hammock, such as is shown by Cooper (1946, p. 733, fig. 78, recorded in 1855). "The child rested in the hammock in the daytime only; never at night," the informant remarked. No other informants recognized the hammock; all were agreed that the Araucanians never had hammocks.

LULLABIES

● 533 854 Araucanians sing both nonsense- and burden-syllabled lullabies. A nonsense-syllabled one sung by school children was a repetition of "sh," another was a repetition of "tsi." A grandmother holding a baby in her arms sang a similar one, timing it with rounds of gentle slaps on the baby's back, shoulders, and abdomen. "This is doing it genuine Mapuche way," she commented. A restless baby was quieted in the lap of an informant by the informant's moving her knees up and down while singing a repetition of "tsa." On occasions persons were seen rocking a cradleboard and singing a repetition of "she" as each foot of the cradleboard touched the ground; another sang "gach" while doing so; later the child's grandmother took the cradle and continued rocking it, singing "gushu." Another day a small boy was seen timing his rocking of a child to the singing of "chu."

539 854 A 60-year-old Coñaripe woman sang for me a burden-syllabled lullaby in Araucanian. A pencil resting in the palms of her hands represented a baby. She moved her hands horizontally and sang: "Sleep, sleep, little one. As the fox comes to take the chicken, so he can also come to take you, if you don't sleep. If the lion comes, he will leave only bones of you. The tiger, too, will come and eat you. I'll be sorry. I'll be sorry. I will weep. I will weep. For I will have only bones." She then held the pencil against her cheek with both hands and said the baby's face was now resting against hers, and sang more softly a repetition of "shhh" to the same melody, and ended saying very quietly, "Now the baby is asleep. That is the way I put my babies to sleep."

The following lullabies in Spanish were also sung by informants: (1) "Sleep, baby, sleep; sleep, baby, sleep. There comes a bull with

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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536 Two traditional dances, really ceremonial dances, are spoken of as purun. They are danced at the gillatun and the machitun, and never at recreational activities (cf. pp. 149-150). "Whenever we Mapuche use the word purun, listeners know that we are not speaking of the way that the Chileans dance—Chileans never dance like we do at the gillatun and machitun, but we dance like they do at fiestas or at any time when we want to have a little fun; there is something sacred in the dancing that we speak of as purun."

Schoolchildren gave a fair demonstration of the girne, the corrido, the walse (pl. 17, *1* and *2*), and the marcha, but they did not think it proper to demonstrate the purun. According to Cooper's sources there was considerable clowning and the use of masks of wood and canelo leaves in some modern Araucanian dances and gatherings. He also notes that the imitative ostrich, puma, and other dances appear to have been an introduction from across the Andes, and are more modern (1946, p. 738).

533 539 Some folk songs were sung on certain occasions only; others at any time: "Some persons sing when they are drunk; some do so when it occurs to them."

The following songs sung in Araucanian were written down by schoolchildren at the dictation of older persons at home.

By a girl as sung by her father:

Mama, I came a short time ago. Mama, I thought of you. Every day I remembered you, and I wept for you, and still weep for you. That is why I came from the north to this place. I was in a forest of pine, mother.

By a boy as sung by his father:

Yes, if we have to go, we will go. Go with me to another land. Argentina is the name of this land. When this year is passed, we will go. Do not take it too hard, sister. Do not cry too much for me, sister, sister. I go to another land, sister, sister. The good God grant that all will go well with you, sister, sister.

By a boy as sung by his aunt:

Where has my beloved gone? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet loved one. Forsaken has he me, my own beloved one. Where has he gone to, my sweet loved one? Dark blue is the woods through which my loved one went. He had no love for me, my sweet beloved one. Forsaken has he me, my old beloved. Weeping I follow him, my sweet loved one. I have cultivated my love to fall in love with my sweet loved one. Tell me, why is it that I cannot cease crying?

[273] By a girl as sung to her by a 70-year-old woman who was visiting at the girl's house (the song is sung only by a drunkard):

We are going because we are already drunk. Yes, we are going, we two. Here is my sister, sister, sister. We are going, sister.

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
SG4 Araucanians SG4
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Anyone hired to help is paid in either Chilean money or in wheat. For cutting a davea, a hired man was being paid 30 pesos (one U.S. dollar) in 1946, or 3½ almuds of wheat—a standard almud (a box used in measuring) holds approximately 7 to 8 kilograms, or 0.8 of a liter. "We have no Mapuche word for almud; this manner of paying we learned from the Chileans." 243 [465 804]

Most wheat today is threshed in the traditional way, by being tramped upon (kallfikan) either by human beings, or by horses on hard ground. Children aged 9 and 10 were permitted to help tramp. Tramping is done to the rhythm of one of several songs. An informant demonstrated by shuffling his feet two steps forward and three steps backward, and then taking a long step forward to get off the ears he had just been stepping on, and onto the others, and singing, "Beat, my feet! You and the jilguero (bird) break these ribs." He added, "The jilguero walks like I showed you the men that are threshing do; that bird does not hop." 243 533

In Alepue area, threshing is still done in the traditional communal way in which neighbors assist one another. Each family brings its loads of grain by oxcart to the customary place, usually on a knoll. Here is the lila, a circular area enclosed by a fence (pl. 35, *3*), where the threshing is done by horses. Connected with the lila there is usually another fenced-in area in which the horses are rested. Threshing is done in the following manner: The wheat is laid with heads of grain toward the center, and horses—as many as 12—are then brought in from the adjoining enclosure. One is ridden by a man who drives the horses round and round, keeping them close to the fence. "He must not let them trample on the heads of the grain for fear of crushing the kernels." Then abruptly he swings the horse he is riding about-face and drives all the other horses in the opposite direction. He repeats this procedure several times and then drives the horses back into their enclosure, as they cannot stand this mauling around too long. While the horses are resting—they may be given four such rest periods in a day—the men sweep the kernels together with branches of brush or shrubbery, "like we use to sweep at home." Handfuls of the kernels are then thrown into the air to let the wind remove the chaff. The chaff-free kernels are taken home and stored in the ruka—today in cloth sacks, formerly in sacks made of hide. Before the wheat is used as food, it is again winnowed. Each family takes its turn at the lila. When the threshing is finished, all families participate in the traditional abundant meal, including an oversupply of chicha. 243

In Collueipe area, where threshing is done by Chileans with a steam-

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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A mother traveling on foot usually carried her baby in her arms. One old enough to walk was often transported on the back of an adult, with arms around the adult's neck, while the adult held the feet of the child. 854

Generally the father made a cradle for his first child shortly before its birth, and it was kept by the family for the use of all subsequent children; occasionally the expectant mother or a relative made it.

A child not able to walk spent the greater part of the day in its cradle amusing itself watching other persons, especially its mother; its naps were also taken in its cradle. A restless or crying baby had its hands freed so it could play with them. The cradle with its baby was laid down, leaned against an object or wall, or suspended in the house or from a branch of a shade tree by means of a leather band which was securely attached at the head end. "Last week I saw a cradle-board hanging from a rafter in my husband's brother's house. An older girl was swinging her little baby sister in it, back and forth. It really amused me, but I thought it was nice. The baby's father had made the cradle; it looked new." At night the baby slept with its mother, out of its cradle. [857]

A hammock, shaped like an ellipse, was made by securely tying the overlapping ends of a colihüe stalk or a willow, and then fastening to them, at many points on it, a piece of pelt of young guanaco or lamb. The pelt was fastened rather loosely to provide a dip in which the child could sit. Sometimes the pelt was padded with wool. One woman had recently used a folded flour sack in place of a pelt.

The hammock was suspended in the house, or from the limb of a tree, by means of two thongs or cords of equal lengths so fastened to the rim as to cross each other at midpoint. It was set in motion, often by another child, to quiet a restless baby, thus affording the mother an opportunity to keep on with her work.

LULLABIES

Both burdened and nonsense-syllabled lullabies were sung to babies to put them to sleep, to quiet their crying, to amuse them, and "just because I loved my baby." "We never let a baby cry long. Its mother will take it in her arms and walk back and forth and sing, 'Be quiet, now. Be quiet, now. We're going for a walk.'" One informant pretended to pull a string and swing a hammock, and sang in Araucanian, "Kaipai mailón. Kaipai mailón. Kaipai mailón. Uman tune." (Now comes the malón [sudden attack by an enemy]. Now comes the malón. Now comes the malón. Sleep you, my little child.) Another 854 533

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said her mother sang a repetition of "ah" to several melodies. She herself sang a Spanish lullaby to her children, one she had learned by hearing her mother sing it: "Por una manzana, calle, calle guagua. Allá vienen todos, guiadalos por el toro." (For an apple, hush, hush little one. There they all come, led by a bull.)

A mother was said to be letting her small child dance to her singing if she moved it up and down in her arms or held its hands and let it move its feet up and down on the ground while she sang to it.

TEETHING, SMILING, CREEPING, WALKING, TALKING

Nothing was done to develop early growth of teeth. "When it was time for the first tooth to appear, it came; then another came; then another, until all had come." No developmental significance was attached to the appearance or the loss of the first tooth.

Formerly, the mother washed the baby's gums, if inflamed, with a decoction of bark of radal; today, young mothers use vinegar. Formerly, if a teething child ran a temperature, the mother rubbed its gums with unwashed wool of black sheep; today, young mothers use alum bought in stores.

Every tooth of both the first and second set, when it dropped out, was buried somewhere in the toldo. Places pointed out were junctions of wall and floor, fissures in walls, and places under rocks around the fireplace. "Not many do that today. But it is a bad thing to throw teeth away; things may happen. In any event our teeth are a part of us; they should be buried in the ground, for when we die the rest of us will be buried in the ground, also." Formerly, fingernail parings and hair cuttings were also buried in the house. "After death the person needs all these. If they are not all buried in the same place, the person has to run around to find them."

A baby's first smile is not celebrated, and never has been, but "it makes the father and mother happy." The mother will fondle the child lovingly for it, and tell others about it.

Usually children were not permitted to creep, but occasionally a mother might allow it, to give the child an opportunity to try out its strength. If it did creep, it did so on hands and feet; or it slid along on one hip. In general, when the child showed signs of wanting to creep, the mother taught it to stand, and does so today. "When this one [1 year 3 months old] wanted to creep, I taught it to balance itself by having it stand near me with arms straight down by its sides. A child can be taught to stand alone at 10 months: it will rise and fall, rise again and fall again, but finally it will learn to stand alone."

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354 similar to those of the early days) were marked off by stones of various sizes and shapes, but always with at least one large, flat, elongated one on which ollas and kettles could be set. From rafters, directly over the fireplace, hung several wires each ending in a piece of heavy chain. Adjustable stout S-shaped wires could be hooked into the chain at different heights so that pails and kettles could be raised or lowered over the fire, as desired. In one house a 4-legged grill rested over the open-pit fireplace.

313 The most desirable firewoods are fire and chacay because they give
312 much heat and little smoke. Since an Argentine law forbids felling trees without a written permit, firewood today is dry wood of trees blown down by wind, and also bark, twigs, and brush found in the woods (pl. 64, *c*). "Most of these smoke up the house; this maqui I am using is absolutely no good for heat either," said a woman while she broke off large pieces of bark across her knee and then broke them into smaller pieces by hand. Two schoolboys told of two Araucanians who had been jailed recently for felling trees. Formerly, one end of the 18- to 36-inch-diameter log was kept smoldering in the fireplace. When heat was desired, it was pushed into the fire.

312 Fire was started by men in several ways. A man holding a flint firmly in one hand struck it forcefully with another stone, usually a flint also, held in the other hand. Striking was done toward tinder. Tinder was either thoroughly dried wood, leaves, or horse manure; today it is often straw or paper. A second way was to hold any hard stone in one hand and energetically rub it with a piece of iron held in the other hand. Again sparks were caught by tinder. A third way was to run a stick—more recently a wire—briskly back and forth through a hollowed-out stem of fuscia. The fibers within the stem served as tinder. "I have seen my father start fire in a fuscia," said a 60-year-old woman. "The fuscia has a very hard stem. South of here they [probably the Tehuelche] still start fire that way."

[533 782] A man starting a fire sang (informant sang in Araucanian): "May my fire burn; may it burn. I will give you meat and fat, if you but burn; for them I can eat. In the name of chau [God] burn for me, for I need you." As soon as he had a fire burning, he threw a small piece of meat and fat into it as an offering. When a fire was not in use, the embers were covered with mud to keep them smoldering.

264 Several meals were eaten each day, hunger generally indicating mealtime. During the childhood of an 85-year-old woman four meals were eaten each day. Each consisted of one main dish "sometimes it was a stew like I am now [3:30 p.m.] preparing."

All persons present ate together, squatting in circular fashion